

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 SSM-03 DHA-02 EB-08 OES-07

TRSE-00 OMB-01 AID-05 IGA-02 CU-04 LAB-04 SIL-01

/115 W

-----070086 171908Z /50

R 171455Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8415

INFO USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAIRO 13680

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG EG

SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: INFORMATION ON EGYPT AND ROLE OF
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN EGYPTIAN DIPLOMACY

REF: (A) 76 STATE 37591, (B) 76 CAIRO 2642, (C) STATE 159747,
(D) STATE 191998, (E) STATE 182728

1. POST'S RESPONSE TO REF A LAST YEAR, WHICH CONTAINED
IN 76 CAIRO 2642, REMAINS GENERALLY VALID. HOWEVER, WE
BELIEVE IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT AS WE MOVE INTO WHAT
GOE HOPES WILL BE FINAL STAGE OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS,
TO DISCUSS GOE RATIONALE FOR ATTRIBUTING KEY ROLE IN
EGYPTIAN DIPLOMACY TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

2. GOE'S MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVE IS AN ARAB-
ISRAELI SETTLEMENT AND IT HAS PURSUED THIS OBJECTIVE ON
TWO TRACKS: (A) " PEACE OFFENSIVE", CARRIED ON MAINLY BY
SADAT AND FAHMY'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND INTERVIEWS,
DIRECTED PRINCIPALLY AT U.S. BODY POLITICS (BUT ALSO AT
WORLD OPINION IN GENERAL) AND (B) A VIGOROUS DIPLOMATIC
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OFFENSIVE IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DESIGNED TO ISOLATE
ISRAEL DIPLOMATICALLY AND PRESSURE HER INTO SETTLEMENT;
I.E. TO DEMONSTRATE TO ISRAELIS THAT THEY FACE EVEN
GREATER DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION AND POSSIBLY SANCTIONS
IF SETTLEMENT NOT REACHED (AS ONE GOE OFFICIAL PUT IT,
"THAT THEY CAN'T HAVE THEIR CAKE (OCCUPIED TERRITORIES)
AND EAT IT TOO".)

3. IN PURSUIT OF THIS OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE GOE UTILIZES TRADITIONAL TOOLS AND WEAPONS OF DIPLOMACY IN ITS BILATERAL RELATIONS. HOWEVER, ITS BILATERAL LEVERAGE IS SEVERELY LIMITED IN ALMOST ALL CASES. IT IS, THEREFORE, PRIMARILY IN THE UN AND ITS AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS THAT GOE BELIEVES IT CAN BE MOST EFFECTIVE. THIS CONCLUSION WAS UNDOUBTEDLY INFLUENCED BY THINKING OF FONMIN FAHMY, WHO CONSIDERS HIMSELF AN EXPERT ON THE UN AFTER LONG YEARS OF SERVICE IN NEW YORK. SINCE TAKING OVER AS FONMIN IN 1974, FAHMY HAS PUT HIS PROTEGES, ALL OF WHOM HAVE EXTENSIVE UN EXPERIENCE, IN KEY POSITIONS THROUGHOUT MFA.

4. ALTHOUGH FOR SOME OBSERVERS GOE ACTIONS IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS DEMONSTRATES GOE'S UNRELENTING HOSTILITY TOWARD ISRAEL, IT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THAT GOE VIEWS ITS ACTIONS AS ESSENTIALLY REACTIVE TO ISRAELI POLICY IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. EGYPT PARTICULARLY OBJECTS TO ISRAEL'S (ALLEGED OR REAL) (A) ESTABLISHMENT OF SETTLEMENTS; (B) TREATMENT OF ARAB RESIDENTS; (C) EXPLOITATION OF EXISTING NATURAL RESOURCES; (D) EXPLORATION FOR NEW NATURAL RESOURCES, PARTICULARLY IN THE GULF OF SUEZ, AND (E) CONSTRUCTION OF PERMANENT INSTALLATIONS SUCH AS ROADS, MILITARY BASES, AND PIPELINES IN SINAI. GOE PROTESTATIONS AGAINST ISRAEL
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POLICIES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAVE RECEIVED A SYMPATHETIC HEARING FROM MOST UN MEMBERS, INCLUDING ON CERTAIN ISSUES, THE U.S. IN SPITE AGREEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN PRINCIPLE WITH EGYPT'S POSITION THAT HAS, IN GOE'S VIEW, BEEN NO LESSENING OF THE "AGGRESSIVE" NATURE OF ISRAELI POLICY. THEY OBJECT THAT THE U.S., FOR EXAMPLE, HAS STATED THAT ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IS AN "OBSTACLE TO PEACE" YET THE SETTLEMENTS CONTINUE TO BE ESTABLISHED; OR THAT THE USG HAS AGREED TO THE LEGAL VALIDITY OF EGYPT'S POSITION THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO EXPLORE FOR OR EXPLOIT NEW NATURAL RESOURCES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND DOES NOT HAVE RIGHT TO PROHIBIT NON-BELLIGERENT ACTS IN THE GULF OF SUEZ. YET ISRAELI OIL EXPLORATION PROCEEDS APACE AND ISRAEL MAINTAINS DE FACTO CONTROL OF THE WESTERN HALF OF THE GULF OF SUEZ.

5. IN ABSENCE OF ANY CHANGE IN ISRAELI POLICY IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AS RESULT OF USG DEMARCHES (OFTEN SECRET) TO ISRAEL, GOE HAS CONCLUDED THAT U.S. IS "POSTURING" RATHER THAN ADAPTING MEANINGFUL POLICY

BACKED UP BY ACTIONS TO DEMONSTRATE OUR DISPLEASURE.
SOME GOE OFFICIALS GO FURTHER AND SAY THAT ARABS ARE
BEING DUPED BY U.S., ; E.G. BEGIN'S RECOGNITION OF THREE
WEST BANK SETTLEMENTS IMMEDIATELY AFTER U.S. VISIT
(DURING WHICH HE WAS "REWARDED" WITH 250 MILLION DOLLARS
IN NEW ARMS AID) COULD NOT, THEY SAY, HAVE BEEN
DONE WITHOUT U.S. TACIT APPROVAL. GOE CONCLUDES,
IN ANY CASE, THAT IT HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO CONTINUE ITS
UN CAMPAIGN WITH ALL MEANS AT ITS DISPOSAL. NOT TO DO
SO, IN GOE VIEW, WOULD IMPLY ACQUIESCENCE IN ISRAELI
ACTS SUCH AS CREATION OF NEW SETTLEMENTS. AT SAME
TIME, GOE PROBABLY WANTS TO ESTABLISH RECORD SO THAT IN EVENT NO
SETTLEMENT REACHED, GROUNDWORK WILL HAVE BEEN LAID
FOR UN SANCTIONS AGAINST ISRAEL.
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6. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS EMBASSY HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO
URGE GOE NOT TO TALK ANTI-ISRAELI ACTIONS IN UN FORUMS,
PARTICULARLY SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, BECAUSE IT CAUSES
POLITICIZATION OF THESE AGENCIES AND RISKS DESTROYING
THEM. GOE OFFICIALS RESPOND THAT "(A) THEIR ACTIONS ARE
REACTIONS TO HIGHLY POLITICAL ACTS TAKEN BY ISRAEL
AND (B) THEY PURSUE THEIR REACTION IN THE APPROPRIATE
ORGANIZATIONS, E.G. ARCHEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN
JERUSALEM TO UNESCO; TREATMENT OF WORKERS ON WEST BANK
TO ILO, ETC.

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INFO USMISSION USUN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 CAIRO 13680

WE HAVE HAD SOME SLIGHT SUCCESS WITH
DEMARCHES THAT POINT OUT TIME IS NOT RIGHT AND THAT
GOE INITIATIVE OAT PARTICULAR TIME COULD HAVE UPSET "DELICATE
STAGE" OF NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, IT IS NOW ALMOST TWO
YEARS SINCE SINAI II AGREEMENT AND NEGOTIATING PROCESS
HAS GOTTEN NOWHERE. WATERGATE, U.S. ELECTIONS AND ISRAELI
ELECTION ARE ALL BEHIND US. MEANWHILE, ISRAELI POLICY
IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAS CONTINUED UNDER BEGIN WITHOUT
APPARENT RESTRAINT. IN FACT, GOE OFFICIALS NEVER TIRE
OF TELLING US THAT USG GIVEN APPEARANCE OF REWARDING
ISRAEL WITH MAINTENANCE OF HIGH LEVELS OF ECONOMIC AND
MILITARY AID.

7. 32ND USGA. WE HAVE ALREADY HAD EXTENSIVE HIGH LEVEL
CONSULTATIONS WITH GOE ON 32ND UNGA AS RESULT OF JULY VISIT
OF IO ASST SECRETARY MAYNES. GOE OFFICIALS WERE MOST
APPRECIATIVE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS. FULL
REPORT OF THESE DISCUSSIONS CONTAINED IN REF E. GOE
PREOCCUPATION WITH ARAB-ISRAELI DISUPTE AND ITS IMPACT
ON MOST OTHER ISSUES WAS EVIDENT THROUGHOUT THESE
DISCUSSIONS.
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Message Attributes

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